2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in conflict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 MR. STUART GLENNIE'S suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1]

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much inter-borrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta, &c.*; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

[p. 299]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

She then takes hold of the flower with both hands and lays her head upon it. 539

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*. 173

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult matter to choose the best or most characteristically Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in 114 538 [121]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

the previous chapter, most of these magical beings have their equivalents in Greek folk-lore, but the Liouvía is peculiar to Albania, and has, so far, been found only in two stories, the following, and that entitled "Perseus" by Von Hahn.[1] The "Beauty of the Earth," or "The World," is the subject of other stories, both Albanian and Greek, and also occurs in Greek folk-song under the same title.[2] This story, however, has a parallel in the Epirote Greek tale of "The King's Son and the Beardless One," in which the hero, a king's son, is personated by a beardless muleteer, a blind *Drache* being substituted for the Liouvía, and an old lame horse for the old man of the Albanian version. The king's son throws pieces of meat to the *Drache*, who recovers his sight, and out of gratitude swallows the hero, who, while in the creature's stomach, learns the language of birds, an attainment which afterwards serves him in good stead. In one of the Greek variants the Beauty is described as "The Golden-haired One," and all the maidens of the town form her train.[3] The incident of stealing the magic dress occurs also in the Bulgarian song of "The Samodiva Married against her Will."[4]

[1] *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 98.

[2] See Passow, *Carmina, &c.* : Ἡ ὡραία τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen;* and the story of "The Twins" in Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια.

[4] See vol. i. p. 352.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

1[See cat. 113, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

"Long may you live, *zonyas!*" said he, and, after he had glanced at our passports: "All honor to you. Go on a smooth trail!" And the words rekindled an old hearth fire in my heart. After a year of the bleakness of Europe, I was at home again.

Three days later rifles were crackling, machine guns were ripping out their staccato shots, and we were under fire in the streets of Tirana. It was the rebellion of March, 1922—a strange affair, which I am about to relate. But before it can be understood, Albania itself must be understood, for that crisis and its outcome are incomprehensible, incredible, without their background.

It would be useless, even though it were not dishonest, to claim that I see Albania with impartial eyes. But this should be said: if I feel a fondness for the little country which perhaps obscures clear judgment, that fondness was created by knowing Albania. I came into it, as I have said, rather prejudiced against it than otherwise. I did not intend to stop there; I was persuaded to stay two weeks; and I have twice returned to Albania and will go there again.

Yes, I have become a special pleader for Albania. But I know the country, I speak the language, I have traveled along the northwestern frontier from Lake Scutari to the Dibra, I have spent months with the people of tribes never before visited by a foreigner. And I have yet to read in any American publication a reference to

POSTSCRIPT

Albania which is accurate. When a writer so well informed as Mr. Lathrop Stoddard refers to Albania as a "land of rugged mountains and equally rugged mountaineers which raises nothing but trouble," and thinks that its importance in the Balkan problem is due to Italy's exaggeration of Valona's military importance; when all American consuls in Europe warn travelers not to go to Albania, a land of brigands; when Albania appears in the newspapers only as a joke or as the scene of another lawless revolution—the few Americans who know Albania do become special pleaders.

There are good reasons for these misconceptions of Albania. For six centuries the Albanians were one of the buried Christian minorities of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Their great men who rose to places of power in the Near East were not known to the outside world as Albanians. Ismail Kemal Bey, Grand Vizier of Turkey, who raised the flag of Albanian independence in 1912; Mehmet Ali, who led the struggle for Egyptian independence in 1811 and founded the dynasty of the Khedives of Egypt; Crispi, the great Italian statesman—these are a few of the Albanians who, having lost their own country, have fought under other banners. When the Albanians of Sicily rose behind Garibaldi and fought for a free and united Italy, they were thought to be Italians. When the Albanians of Epirus fought for the freedom of Greece, they were thought to be Greek. When they fight for the

7: Amery EG1 Albania EG1
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[For the author's account of his entry into the British Intelligence group known as the "D" organization, its organizational set-up, and its World War II mission in the Balkans, see pp. 23-31, category 116.]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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THE AUTHOR

(From a drawing by Olive Snell)

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

PREFACE

THE Resistance Movements of the second World War will not lack their memorials. The passions which they aroused, the causes which they served, and the deeds which they inspired assure them a lasting place in the annals of history. Their military worth has been acknowledged alike by victors and by vanquished; and their influence will long be felt in the affairs of the nations.

From 1940 to 1945 I was variously associated with the Resistance Movements of the Balkans, and more especially with those of the South Slavs and the Albanians. I have written here of the Albanian Revolt, but the implications of my theme inevitably transcend the narrow limits of Albania. The story of Abas Kupi and Enver Hoja is, in its essentials, the story of Mihailovitch and Tito, of Zervas and E.A.M. In a wider sense, indeed, it is also the story of de Gaulle and Thorez, of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The forms may change but the content is the same; for Resistance is a universal phenomenon—a compound of war and revolution.

To stir up strife behind an enemy's lines is a stratagem as old as war itself; but in this last war new techniques of wireless-transmission and airborne-supply made possible the long-range preparation and support of revolts in occupied territories on a scale unexampled in history. The organisation of Resistance has thus become a distinct branch of the art of war, of comparable importance as an instrument of national policy to the traditional arms and the new weapons of the atomic age.

The chronicle of events recorded in these pages has been composed with the help of contemporary diaries and reports. The mind, however, tends irresistibly to impose a pattern on its memories, and it has not always been easy to recapture the mental and moral climate of our experiences. Yet therein lay much of their personal significance.

In the seven months that our mission lasted we lived

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

PREFACE

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THE data on which this study is based were gathered in northern Albania during the fall, winter, and spring of 1929–30. Funds were provided by the National Research Council of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Francis Drexel Smith of Colorado Springs, Colorado. After the field work was over the National Research Council, whose Fellow I was, paid my salary for one year, as well as the expenses of statistical analysis and typing. On April 7, 1932, the report was presented to the National Research Council, which approved it. It was also submitted to, and approved by, the then Albanian government. Owing to a number of reasons publication was postponed; with the generous help of a grant from the Milton Fund and J. H. Clark Bequest of Harvard University, and of another from the Viking Fund, I was able to employ an assistant in 1946–48 to help me with a complete revision. That revision is now finished.

The personnel of the 1929–30 expedition included, beside myself, Mrs. Stanley Salmen (then Mrs. Coon); Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth, now a U. S. Foreign Service Officer; Mr. Anthony Stevens, a member of the U. S. Consulate staff at Tirana; and Mr. Stavre Frasheri. We were facilitated in our work by Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes, then chargé-d'affaires at the U. S. Legation in Tirana; the late Dr. J. Dineley Prince, then U. S. Minister to Yugoslavia; Mr. Paul deMille, then U. S. Consul at Tirana, and Mr. Joseph Shutack, a member of his staff. Messrs. Kota, Rauf Fico, and Xhelal Frasheri, of the erstwhile Albanian government, all rendered us aid, as did the British officers in charge of the

Cambridge, Mass.
June, 1948

[p. -v b-]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Rioli, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerç, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

* Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

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me, found the tribal rosters different in some areas from those I later encountered. She calls Malsia e Madhe not a tribe at all, but a confederation of tribes. Of these Klementi is given 4 *bairaks*, Seltzi, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi, while the other 9, Gruda, Hoti, Skreli (Shkrelli), Klementi (Kilmeni), Lohe (Loya), Rechi (Reçi), Rioli (Riola), Kopliku, and Grizha (Greisha), are said to have consisted of a single *bairak* each. Triepsh and Kraja were not listed, doubtless because they lay over the Montenegrin border even before the imposition of the 1913 boundary. She did not include Postripa in the confederacy, but made it a separate group of tribes.

These were Mazreku, Drishti, Shlaku, Dushmani, and Summa. Only one of these, Dushmani, is given 2 *bairaks*, the others having one each. Dushman is the only one of these names which appears on my list, where it is given the status of a *bairak* of Dukagin. I measured in the village of Postripa itself, and am surprised that no subjects from these separate "tribes" appeared. What I was told was called Dukagin, she lists as "the Pulati group," dividing this into Upper and Lower Pulati. She grants Lower Pulati 4 small, one-*bairak* tribes: Plani, Ghoanni, Mgula, and Kiri. Upper Pulati is given Shala, with 4 *bairaks*, Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj; Shoshi, number of *bairaks* not stated; Toplana, same; Nikaj, same. Merturi, which intermarried with Nikaj and is now called part of Malsia e Jakovës, she listed with Puka as a part of Berisha. The reason for this was that "Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago."[6]

Mal i Zi, listed in my roster as a *bairak* of Puka, she assigns to Luma. She makes Gashi, a *bairak* of Malsia e Jakovës, a separate tribe. She also grants tribal independence to the *bairak* of Lura, which she places at the head of a confederation including Mati and Dibra, and to Kthella, which she divides into 3 *bairaks*, Kthella, Selita, and Perlati.

1/1 [See Cat. 116, p 31 b Analyst]

It is my impression that some of these differences are due to a confusion on Miss Durham's part between *fis* and *bairak*, *bairak* and tribe. On page 68 she translates *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." Had she not gone wrong somewhere it would have been remarkable.

[6] Durham, 1928, p. 27.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."[1]

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

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[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)194- EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tosks

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During the winter of 1946–47, 2 graduate students in the Harvard Department of Anthropology, despite busy programs, undertook to measure and observe a sample of the colony, including both Albanian-born and American-born (fig. 16)[1] cradled and uncradled. They measured 37 adults of both sexes who had been born in Albania, and cradled, and 30 individuals, also of both sexes, born in America, of whom only 12 were 20 years old or over.

Table 26[2] gives the results in the categories of occipital and lambdoid flattening. Only one person born in Albania lacked any kind of flattening; he is Mr. Peter Peterson, whose picture may be seen on plate 14, fig. 3, of "The

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 95c -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

PREFACE

Margaret Hasluck was the daughter of a Scottish farmer, John Hardie. She was born in 1885 and spent her early years in Morayshire. From Elgin Academy she went to Aberdeen University, where she graduated in 1907 with first class Honours in Classics. Continuing her classical studies in Cambridge, she took a first class in both parts of the Tripos. She then went to the British School at Athens where her future husband, Mr F. W. Hasluck, was Assistant Director. They were married in 1912 and continued to work in Athens till the condition of Mr Hasluck's health compelled them to go to Switzerland in 1916. Mr Hasluck died in 1920, and his wife returned to England to prepare his book on *The Monasteries of Mount Athos*. When this work was completed, Mrs Hasluck, who had become greatly interested in the folklore of the Balkan countries, decided to devote herself to the study of this subject, and, with the help of a Wilson Travelling Fellowship, she returned to the Middle East. After extensive wanderings, she decided to settle in Albania. She remained in that country for thirteen years, building herself a house at Elbasan, and travelling constantly, especially in the mountainous region of the north where she lived with the people and got to know them intimately.

With the threat of the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939, she left that country for Athens, where she worked for some time in the British Embassy. When that city was being heavily bombed she was taken to Alexandria and thence to Cairo. In Cairo she was given the task of briefing the men who were to be infiltrated into Albania by air and sea, in the manners and ways of life of the Albanian people. She was, of course, well qualified for this work by her long and intimate knowledge of the country and of the language. Unfortunately, she became seriously ill in Cairo, and was found to be suffering from leucaemia. In the hope of some improvement she went to live in Cyprus, but, driven to realize that she had not long to live, she came back to England determined to finish the book which she had been planning for many years and for which she had collected a mass of material. After some indecision as to a suitable place to live she went to Dublin, and during the short time left to her she worked there with great courage and

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

114 persistence on her book. She died in 1948 with her task far from completed.

Mrs Hasluck appointed the writer of this preface as her literary executor, not because of any knowledge of Albania or of folklore, but as an old friend who would do everything possible to get the book ready for publication. Had she completed it herself or entrusted it to some authority on her subject, the book would undoubtedly have been free of some of its faults. When the material came into my hands, only four of the chapters had been completed and much of the remaining material was in a chaotic condition. But Mrs Hasluck had sketched out the plan of the book with the proposed chapter headings, and the preliminary inquiries I made as to her standing as an authority and her knowledge of Albania and its language were very encouraging. Also the [122] Leverhulme Research Fellowships Trust, from which Mrs Hasluck had received grants for her work, undertook to give me a grant towards my personal expenses and to make it possible to employ a sub-editor at a later stage of the work.

I am indebted to a great many people, both English and Albanian, who helped me at the early stages of the work with information and ideas. I cannot mention all of these by name, but I heard from several of the officers who were briefed by Mrs Hasluck for their work in Albania. I discussed with Professor Jopson of St John's College, Cambridge, Mrs Hasluck's knowledge of the Albanian language, and was assured by him that it was good and that her *Albanian-English Reader*, published in 1932, was a reliable and useful book. But at the early stages of my task I owed a very special debt of gratitude to Lord Haden Guest, who was then Secretary of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships, and to Miss Branney, the present secretary. Without their interest and encouragement I do not think I could have found the necessary confidence to persevere in what has proved to be a difficult and prolonged task.

One source of great difficulty was the spelling of geographical names, and it was natural to turn to the Royal Geographical Society for help. I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my very sincere gratitude to Mr Aurousseau, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, who gave much time and thought to this matter and whose advice was invaluable.

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INTRODUCTION

There is a singular absence of ethnographical material in English which deals with either the Balkan tribes in general or the Albanians in particular. In fact, apart from handbooks compiled during the Hitler war and still inaccessible to the general public, almost all that the student of Albanian life and custom can consult is the work, admirable indeed but of a single author, the late Miss Durham—*High Albania* (1909), and *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), and two other works more nearly concerned with politics. In languages other than English there are the valuable *Albanesische Studien* of J. G. von Hahn (Jena, 1854), the same author's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* published in Leipzig ten years later, the *Contes Albanais* of Auguste Dozon (Paris, 1881), and possibly passages in Strabo and other ancient authors with regard to the Illyrians from whom the Albanians in the main derive. More recently the Reale Accademia d'Italia has published an Italian version of Gjeçov's *Code of Lek Dukagjini* (Rome, 1941) and a number of other studies on Albania have been published in Italian as a result of the Italian interest in and occupation of that country under Mussolini's régime.

This volume of Mrs Hasluck's therefore constitutes a very important contribution to ethnography in English. Principally, it is true, it is concerned with the customary law of the Albanian highlands. But, as a means of understanding the fundamental logical basis of that code and how it works in practice, the author has been under the necessity of explaining the manner of Albanian life in considerable detail, and of illustrating it from time to time by the details of specific cases which illustrate the working of the unwritten law. We are thus given a great deal of information as to the composition of the Albanian family, and its mode of life, the general set up of the village and tribal life, and the nature and working of tribal assemblies. We are shown the methods of dealing with crimes against property or person, the conventions that govern, for instance, trespass, travel, and the feeding of flocks, or the guarding of houses by watch-dogs. We have detailed accounts of the administration of oaths, and of the imposition of

(p. x is blank)

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114 [628] [577] penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 721 [826] It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

[842] [583] [302] [628] 000

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III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (4). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (3), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. I 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Franz Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

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A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1900, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. A [133] According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Y [342] Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys. The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

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To the Land of the Eagle

625 wild and lawless country on the borders of Montenegro and to the prefect is allotted the difficult task of maintaining
000 order there. This part of Albania, which is exceedingly mountainous and extends northwards to the Serbian border, is the part which is most often visited by travellers and most frequently described in books of travel. Indeed, it is a matter of complaint amongst Albanians that so many books are published which deal with this particular portion of the country—a portion by no means representative of the whole—and convey the impression that all Albania is similar to it. My original intention had been to cross the border from Kolašin, in Montenegro, and travel down through this mountainous country to Scutari, but I was dissuaded by the Governor of Cettinje, who declared that it would be very unwise to attempt such a journey on account of the danger of being attacked by brigands, and although the idea of being attacked by brigands—so romantic and such excellent " copy "—rather appealed to me, I was not anxious to share the fate of two Americans who had recently been killed there. Afterwards I regretted that I had been induced to change my plans, for I learned that the two Americans had accidentally walked into an ambush that was intended for somebody else and that I might have made the trip with safety.

114 Those who want to know about these highlands of Albania will find a vivid description of them in " High Albania " by Miss Durham, a book which was written a year or two
000 before the war. At that time the blood-feud and the